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DEPARTMENT PASS TO SENATOR PELL

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 06/05/2002 (DJEREJIAN, EDWARD P.)OR-M  
 TAGS: OREP PEPR US JO IS IZ  
 SUBJECT: CODEL PELL VISIT TO JORDAN

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT)

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

2. SENATOR PELL AND GERALD CHRISTIANSEN, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, VISITED JORDAN JUNE 2-3 AND HAD A SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH KEY JORDANIAN OFFICIALS INCLUDING KING HUSSEIN, CROWN PRINCE HASSAN AND THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION ADNAN ABU ODEH. THE MAIN ISSUES OF THE DISCUSSIONS WERE THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS AND JORDAN'S ROLE IN THAT PROCESS, THE U.S.-JORDANIAN ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP BOTH ECONOMIC AND MILITARY, JORDAN'S ROLE IN INTER-ARAB REGIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR AND U.S.-JORDANIAN EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES. THERE WERE TWO MAJOR THEMES WHICH THE JORDANIANS CONVEYED TO CODEL:

A. THE ARAB/ISRAELI PROCESS. DESPITE JORDAN'S REJECTION OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS FOR WELL-KNOWN REASONS, JORDAN TODAY IS THE SAME JORDAN THAT HAS ESTABLISHED A HISTORICAL RECORD FOR SEEKING A NEGOTIATED PEACE WITH ISRAEL. THE CDA HAS NOW MOVED INTO A NEW AND FULLER PHASE BEYOND THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI CONTEXT WHICH WILL INVOLVE ALL THE

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PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE, AND NOT ONLY JORDAN. WHILE STRESSING ISRAEL'S CURRENT INFLEXIBILITY AND FORTRESS MENTALITY, KING HUSSEIN SAID THAT "NO ONE IS TALKING ABOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL" BUT THAT TIME WAS NOT ON THE SIDE OF THE MODERATES IN ACHIEVING AN ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE SETTLEMENT. THE U.S. MUST CONTINUE TO PLAY A KEY ROLE IN BRINGING ABOUT A JUST AND LASTING MIDDLE EAST PEACE. AN ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT HUSSEIN SAID WOULD HAVE TO ENSURE ISRAEL'S COMPLIANCE WITH THE WITHDRAWAL PROVISIONS OF U.N.S.C. RESOLUTION 242. CROWN PRINCE HASSAN STRESSED THAT THE POLITICAL MIDDLE GROUND IN THE ARAB WORLD WAS RAPIDLY DWINDLING AND THIS INCLUDED THE MODERATES WITHIN THE PLO. ISRAELI POLICIES WERE EXACERBATING THE SITUATION AND UNDERCUTTING THE MODERATES' POSITION. WHILE BOLSTERED BY SECRETARY HAIG'S MIDDLE EAST POLICY SPEECH, THE JORDANIANS WERE DISAPPOINTED THAT IT DID NOT GO BEYOND THE CONTEXT OF THE AUTONOMY TALKS. THE PLO MUST BECOME PART OF THE EQUATION IN ANY SETTLEMENT AND THE JORDANIANS STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S.G. RECOGNIZING THIS FACTOR AND HOPEFULLY ENTERING INTO CONTACT WITH THE MODERATES WITHIN THE PLO. THIS, THE JORDANIANS FEEL, WOULD BE ESSENTIAL IF THE U.S.G. IS GOING TO BE ABLE TO PLAY THE ROLE OF AN HONEST BROKER IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONTEXT.

IN RESPONSE TO THE SENATOR'S QUERY TO BOTH KING HUSSEIN AND CROWN PRINCE HASSAN ON THE JORDANIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ALLON PLAN, HUSSEIN STATED THAT IT WAS WELL KNOWN NOW THAT HE WAS IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH ISRAELI LEADERS REGARDING THIS PLAN. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THE IDEA OF ISRAELI OCCUPIED STRATEGIC POINTS MADE LITTLE SENSE IN SUCH A SMALL GEOGRAPHIC AREA. IN ADDITION, HE SAID JORDAN HAD OBJECTED TO ANY PLAN WHICH WOULD GIVE JORDAN THE POPULATED AREAS OF THE WEST BANK "CONNECTED BY CORRIDORS BUT ENCIRCLED BY ISRAELIS." CROWN PRINCE HASSAN STATED THAT MANY JORDANIANS LOOK BACK TO THE PERIOD OF THE ALLON PLAN AND WHILE REITERATING THE JORDANIAN OBJECTION TO THE PRESENCE OF ISRAELIS ON ARAB TERRITORY TO MONITOR THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, JORDANIANS RECOGNIZE THAT, AT LEAST, THIS PLAN CONTAINED THE CONCEPT OF WITHDRAWAL FROM 90 PERCENT OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. HE SUGGESTED THAT IF THAT PLAN COULD BE ALTERED TO SUBSTITUTE U.N. FORCES FOR ISRAELI FORCES, PERHAPS JORDAN COULD

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TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT IT. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESENCE OF MILITARY FORCES ARE WRITTEN INTO THE CDA FRAMEWORK. ON JERUSALEM, KING HUSSEIN SAID SOME SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM COULD BE FOUND AND JERUSALEM COULD BECOME THE CAPITAL OF BOTH SIDES AND A REAL CITY OF PEACE.

B. U.S./JORDANIAN SECURITY ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP. THE SECOND MAJOR THEME THAT THE JORDANIANS CONVEYED TO CODEL PELL WAS THAT JORDAN'S MILITARY ASSISTANCE NEEDS SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED SOLELY IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONTEXT, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF JORDAN'S INTER-REGIONAL SECURITY ROLE IN THE ARAB WORLD. IN THIS RESPECT, KING HUSSEIN REFERRED TO THE STABILIZING ROLE THAT JORDAN HAD PLAYED IN THE GULF AND ARABIAN PENINSULA IN THE PAST AND MENTIONED JORDANIAN MILITARY SUPPORT TO OMAN, KUWAIT AND EVEN PAKISTAN. HE STRESSED THAT JORDAN STOOD READY TO SUPPORT STABILITY IN THE REGION, EVEN IF IT MEANT

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STATIONING JORDANIAN TROOPS IN THE GULF. HUSSEIN WAS CRITICAL OF THE KENNEDY CO-SPONSORED RESOLUTION BARRING ADVANCED WEAPONS SALES TO JORDAN AND COMMENTED THAT HE ONLY ASKED U.S. LEGISLATORS TO STUDY THE FULL CONTEXT OF U.S./JORDANIAN SECURITY INTERESTS IN THE AREA BEFORE COMING OUT CATEGORICALLY AGAINST FUTURE ARMS SALES TO JORDAN.

IRAN-IRAQ WAR. ON THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, THE KING REITERATED HIS VERY DEEP CONCERNS OVER THE IMPLICATIONS OF AN IRANIAN VICTORY AND POLITICAL DEFEAT OVER IRAQ. HE POINTED OUT THE VULNERABILITY OF THE ARAB-GULF STATES AND EVEN SAUDI ARABIA TO THE FORCES OF EXTREMISM FOSTERED BY THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION. HE EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS WORKING WITH MANY STATES INCLUDING THE U.S. IN A SEARCH FOR WAYS TO END THE CONFLICT. HUSSEIN ATTACKED SOVIET ACTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASSAILED SOVIET EFFORTS TO EXPLOIT THE REGION'S DISUNITY AND INSTABILITY. HE ALSO CONDEMNED SYRIA'S SUPPORT OF IRAN. HE STATED THAT IF SYRIA SHOULD ATTACK IRAQ IT COULD MEAN WAR WITH JORDAN "AT ANY TIME."

U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO JORDAN. ON U.S. ASSISTANCE TO JORDAN, CROWN PRINCE HASSAN STATED THE SIGNIFICANT ROLE U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE HAS PLAYED AND DOES PLAY IN JORDAN'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. HOWEVER, HE PROVIDED THE CODEL WITH A PAPER ON THIS SUBJECT WHICH COMPARED JORDANIAN AND ISRAELI LEVELS OF U.S. AID. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT TOTAL U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNRWA DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1950 TO 1982 WERE USD 889 MILLION DOLLARS, WHICH IS LESS THAN THE U.S. FMS TO ISRAEL OF USD 1 BILLION IN 1980 ALONE. HASSAN ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT JORDAN WAS NOT WILLING TO SELL OUT BASIC PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING A JUST ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE SETTLEMENT FOR MASSIVE AID FROM ANY QUARTER. NEVERTHELESS, JORDAN WAS FACED WITH A VERY SERIOUS AND RAPID RATE OF DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH WHICH COULD BE EXACERBATED BY THE STEADY FORCED EMIGRATION OF PALESTINIANS FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, THEREBY STRAINING JORDAN'S RESOURCES EVEN FURTHER.

U.S. AND SOVIET EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES. ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES BOTH CODEL PELL AND THE JORDANIANS EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN OVER THE GROWING NUMBERS OF JORDANIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS STUDYING IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EASTERN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WITH MANY GOING THERE ON GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS. THIS WAS IN STARK CONTRAST TO THE ABSENCE OF ANY U.S. SPONSORED SCHOLARSHIPS FOR JORDANIAN STUDENTS TO STUDY IN THE U.S., EVEN THOUGH THE U.S. REMAINED THE MOST DESIRABLE VENUE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION BY JORDANIANS. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

MEETING WITH KING HUSSEIN  
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3. SENATOR PELL, STAFFER GERALD CHRISTIANSEN, CHARGE DJEREJIAN AND A/DCM ROGERS MET WITH KING

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HUSSEIN AND QUEEN NOOR AT HUMMAR PALACE ON THE EVENING OF JUNE '2.

IRAN-IRAQ WAR  
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4. SENATOR PELL ASKED KING HUSSEIN FOR HIS VIEW OF

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THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR. THE KING SAID THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION WAS VERY SERIOUS. IRAQ HAD BEEN PROVOKED AND HAD ENTERED IRANIAN TERRITORY IN ORDER TO REASSERT ITS RIGHTS. NOW THE WAR MUST BE ENDED OR AN IRANIAN-INSPIRED SHIITE REVOLUTION COULD SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE GULF AFFECTING ALL STATES IN THE REGION, INCLUDING SAUDI ARABIA. HUSSEIN ADDED THAT HE WAS URGING SOME OF "OUR WELL-TO-DO BROTHERS" IN THE AREA "NOT TO SUCCUMB TO (IRANIAN) BLACKMAIL."

5. HUSSEIN STATED THAT JORDAN WAS INVESTIGATING WITH OTHER STATES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, APPROACHES TO END THE WAR. ONE SUCH AVENUE, THE KING SAID, WAS THE U.N.S.C. HE MUSED THAT A POSSIBLE U.N.S.C. RESOLUTION MIGHT CALL FOR RESPECT FOR MUTUAL BORDERS, UNACCEPTABILITY OF THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY FORCE, AND GUARANTEES REGARDING THE USE OF WATERWAYS.

6. HUSSEIN STRESSED THAT USE OF A U.S.-SUPPLIED RDF WAS NOT THE ANSWER TO THE SECURITY THREAT IN THE GULF. THIS THREAT, HE SAID, HAD TO BE MET IN THE FIRST INSTANCE BY THE ARABS THEMSELVES AND JORDAN COULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THAT EFFORT. THE KING SAID THAT JORDAN, AS IT HAD IN THE PAST (OMAN, KUWAIT AND PAKISTAN) STOOD READY TO SUPPORT MODERATE ARAB STATES "EVEN IF IT MEANT STATIONING JORDANIAN TROOPS IN THE GULF REGION."

#### U.S.-JORDANIAN SECURITY ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP

7. IN THIS RESPECT, KING HUSSEIN CRITICIZED THE KENNEDY CO-SPONSORED RESOLUTION BARRING FUTURE ARMS SALES TO JORDAN AND EXPLAINED THAT JORDAN'S SECURITY AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE NEEDS TO BE VIEWED BEYOND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONTEXT. JORDAN FACED MULTIPLE THREATS, ESPECIALLY FROM SYRIA IN THE NORTH. ALSO, U.S. ARMS TO JORDAN SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN THE CONTEXT OF JORDAN'S INTER-REGIONAL SECURITY ROLE IN SUPPORT OF MODERATE REGIMES IN THE AREA.

#### SOVIET REGIONAL MACHINATIONS

8. KING HUSSEIN STRESSED THE BENEFIT OF THE CURRENT GULF WAR TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE WAR'S TURBULANCE, HE SAID, DISTURBED THE OIL PRODUCING AREAS. THE RESULT AFFECTED AND DESTABILIZED THE THIRD WORLD, PROVIDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR COMMUNIST EXPLOITATION. IN ADDITION, THE SOVIET UNION HAD HISTORICALLY SOUGHT TO POLARIZE THE MIDDLE EAST TO ITS OWN ADVANTAGE. THE GULF WAR PROVIDED AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO FURTHER THAT GOAL. THE KING EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN OVER THE GROWING STRENGTH OF SOVIET SURROGATES IN THE REGION, SUCH AS LIBYA, PORY AND SYRIA.

#### SYRIA'S ROLE

9. HUSSEIN THEN RAISED THE DETRIMENTAL WAY IN WHICH SYRIANS HAVE AFFECTED THE MIDDLE EAST. SYRIAN SUPPORT FOR IRAN STRENGTHENED SHIITE EXTREMISM. ALTHOUGH JORDAN HAD SUPPORTED SYRIA'S INITIAL INVOLVEMENT IN LEBANON, THE KING WAS DISTRESSED AND SURPRISED AT THE WAY EVENTS THERE HAD DEVELOPED. THE SITUATION IN THE AREA HAD DETERIORATED SO MUCH, HE SAID, THAT SYRIA MIGHT ATTACK IRAQ. THIS COULD

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ACTIVATE THE ARAB DEFENSE PACT AND DRAW JORDAN INTO  
A WAR WITH SYRIA "AT ANY TIME."

ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT AND POSSIBLE JORDANIAN-ISRAELI

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COOPERATION

10. SENATOR PELL RAISED THE PROSPECTS OF ISRAELI-JORDANIAN COOPERATION ON MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL PROJECTS, SIMILAR TO THE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN OCEANOGRAPHIC PROJECT. THE KING DID NOT REJECT OUT OF HAND THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME FUTURE JOINT PROJECTS WITH ISRAEL. HE ADDED THAT "SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE" AND DEPENDENT ON PEACE EFFORTS, JOINT ANTI-POLLUTION PROJECTS IN THE AQABA AREA MIGHT BE POSSIBLE.

11. UNFORTUNATELY, THE KING SAID, ISRAEL HAS A FORTRESS MENTALITY. AS A RESULT, CHANCES TO BRING STABILITY OF THE AREA ARE BEING LOST AS TIME GOES ON. IN ANY EVENT, JORDAN HAS VERY LIMITED RESOURCES AND MEANS TO INFLUENCE EVENTS. HUSSEIN EMPHASIZED THAT "NO ONE IS TALKING ABOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL." THE KEY ELEMENT IN SHAPING A JUST AND LASTING MIDDLE EAST PEACE, HUSSEIN SAID, WAS THE UNITED STATES. THIS WAS TRUE NOT ONLY REGARDING ISRAEL, BUT THE WHOLE REGION.

12. SENATOR PELL THEN ASKED THE KING WHAT HE THOUGHT OF THE ALLON PLAN. HUSSEIN REPLIED THAT HE HAD ONCE BEEN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE ISRAELIS REGARDING THE PLAN, TALKING WITH THEM OPENING AND DIRECTLY. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THE IDEA OF ISRAELI-OCCUPIED STRATEGIC POINTS MADE LITTLE SENSE IN SUCH A SMALL GEOGRAPHIC AREA WHERE "ON A CLEAR DAY YOU CAN SEE JERUSALEM FROM THE ROOF OF MY HOUSE." IN ADDITION, HE HAD REJECTED ANY PLAN WHICH WOULD GIVE JORDAN THE POPULATED AREAS OF THE WEST BANK "CONNECTED BY CORRIDORS BUT ENCIRCLED BY ISRAELIS."

13. RETURNING TO THE SUBJECT OF JERUSALEM, HUSSEIN SAID THAT SOME SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF JERUSALEM COULD BE FOUND. IT COULD BE THE CAPITAL OF BOTH SIDES, HE SAID, A REAL "CITY OF PEACE."

14. THE KING SAID THAT HE DID NOT FORESEE THE RISE SOON OF ANY CHARISMATIC ISRAELI LEADER WHO MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO A BREAKTHROUGH IN MIDDLE EAST PEACE. THE JORDANIAN POSITION REMAINED CLEAR: WITHDRAW FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND ISRAEL WILL HAVE PEACE. JORDAN, HE SAID, WAS EVEN WILLING TO "GO IT ALONE" UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS.

15. AS HE HAS DONE IN OTHER CONVERSATIONS, HUSSEIN REITERATED THAT HE WAS HAPPY THAT EGYPT HAD REGAINED THE SINAI. HOWEVER, HE CRITICIZED CAMP DAVID FOR NOT BEING "COMPREHENSIVE;" ITS PRINCIPLES IN ACTUAL FACT DID NOT APPLY IN CASES OTHER THAN THE EGYPTIAN/ISRAELI FRAMEWORK OF CAMP DAVID. HE CHARACTERIZED THE CURRENT MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AS DISCOURAGING.

CODEL PELL'S MEETING WITH CROWN PRINCE HASSAN

16. ON JUNE 3 CROWN PRINCE HASSAN INVITED CODEL PELL

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AND CHARGE DJEREJIAN TO A BREAKFAST MEETING AT THE NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL BUILDING (PARLIAMENT). PRESENT AT THE MEETING ON THE JORDANIAN SIDE WERE: COURT MINISTER 'AMER KHAMMASH, OFFICIALS OF THE NCC, - MINISTER OF TRANSPORT ALI SUHAYMAT, MRS. LEILA SHARAF, THE WIFE OF THE FORMER JORDANIAN PRIME MINISTER, AND MEMBERS OF THE CROWN PRINCE'S STAFF. THE DISCUSSION DWELT MAINLY ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS, JORDAN'S F IN THAT PROCESS, U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO JORDAN AND CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JORDAN.

#### ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS AND JORDAN'S ROLE

#### 17. SENATOR PELL ASKED WHAT THE JORDANIAN POSITION

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WAS ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS AND ON SUCH SPECIFIC APPROACHES SUCH AS THE ALLON PLAN. CROWN PRINCE HASSAN WENT INTO A LENGTHY EXPLANATION OF THE JORDANIAN POSITION, THE MAIN POINTS OF WHICH FOLLOW:

-- JORDAN IS NOT A COUNTRY WHICH HAS SET OUT TO ERASE ISRAEL FROM THE MAP. AS FAR BACK AS 1922 AND 1937 AND BEFORE THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, JORDAN PROPOSED MUSLIM, CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH CO-EXISTENCE IN PALESTINE. JORDAN IS THE SAME JORDAN WHICH ACCEPTED U.N. SECURITY RESOLUTION 242 AND THE ROGERS' PLAN. CONCERNING THE ALLON PLAN, MANY JORDANIANS LOOK BACK AT THAT PERIOD AND REALIZE THAT JORDAN'S MAJOR OBJECTION TO THE PLAN WAS THE PRESENCE OF ISRAELIS ON ARAB TERRITORY TO MONITOR THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. BUT AT LEAST THE CONCEPT OF WITHDRAWAL WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THAT PLAN AND MEANT WITHDRAWAL FROM 90 PERCENT OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. IF THE ISRAELI MILITARY PRESENCE COULD BE SUBSTITUTED FOR U.N. FORCES, JORDAN POSSIBLY COULD TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT IT. THE PRESENCE OF MILITARY FORCES IS EVEN WRITTEN INTO THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK.

-- JORDAN REJECTED THE CDA BECAUSE IT WAS SIMPLY NOT COMPREHENSIVE ENOUGH AND DEALT MAINLY WITH BILATERAL ISSUES INVOLVING EGYPT AND ISRAEL. THE CDA HAS NOW ENTERED A FULL PHASE WHICH INVOLVES ALL THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE, INCLUDING JORDAN BUT NOT LIMITED TO JORDAN. IF WE MOVE TOWARD PEACE, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT JORDAN WILL BECOME MORE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK BY THE RADICALS. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT MOVES TOWARD PEACE AVOID RADICALIZATION IN THE AREA. THIS DANGER IS NOT ONLY LIMITED TO THE ARAB WORLD BUT ALSO TO ISRAEL AND IN JORDAN'S EYES ISRAELI DEFMIN SHARON REPRESENTS THE POLITICAL FORCES IN ISRAEL WHICH SEEK THE RADICALIZATION OF THE AREA. EVEN MODERATE AMERICAN JEWISH LEADERS INDICATED TO THE CROWN PRINCE DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES THAT SHARON SEEKS THE RADICALIZATION OF THE AREA.

-- ONLY AN IMPARTIAL UNITED STATES CAN PROMOTE PEACE IN THE AREA WHICH IS BESET BY EXTREMIST FORCES. JORDAN RECOGNIZES THE REALITIES OF THE U.S. POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL, BUT THE BASIC QUESTION IS SUPPORT OF WHICH ISRAEL: AN ISRAEL WHICH IS A SECURE NATION STATE WITHIN THE PRE-1967 BORDERS, OR AN

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EXPANSIONIST ISRAEL WHICH PERPETUATES ITS OCCUPATION OF ARAB TERRITORIES AND DENIES PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION. THE U.S. MUST FACE THIS ISSUE SQUARELY SOON.

-- THE U.S. MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THE POLITICAL MIDDLE GROUND IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS RAPIDLY DWINDLING. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. THE PLO MUST BECOME PART OF THE EQUATION. THE MODERATE FORCES WITHIN THE PLO ARE STILL IN A POSITION OF POWER AND INFLUENCE. HOWEVER, TIME IS NOT ON THEIR SIDE. THAT IS WHY IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE U.S.G. TO ENTER INTO CONTACT WITH THE PLO IF THE UNITED STATES WANTS TO EXPLOIT FULLY ITS UNIQUE ROLE AS AN HONEST BROTHOR BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE. THE KHALIL AL-HASSAN SEVEN POINT PLAN IS ANOTHER INDICATION OF THE PLO TRYING TO BREAK INTO THE MIDDLE GROUND AND OPEN AVENUES FOR NEGOTIATING A SETTLEMENT ALONG FUNDAMENTALLY MODERATE LINES. THE ARAB WORLD HAS COME TO THE POINT WHERE IT RECOGNIZES THAT ISRAEL IS THERE TO STAY BUT THE QUESTION AGAIN IS WHICH ISRAEL AND HOW BIG WILL IT BE.

-- SECRETARY HAIG'S RECENT SPEECH ON THE MIDDLE EAST WAS ENCOURAGING IN ITS GENERAL THRUST, BUT DISCOURAGING IN SO FAR AS HE LIMITED HIS REMARKS ON AN ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT TO THE NARROW CONTEXT OF THE AUTONOMY TALKS. THIS APPROACH WILL NOT FOSTER THE FORCES OF MODERATION. THE ISRAELIS ON ONE SIDE AND THE ARAB EXTREMISTS ON THE OTHER ARE UNDERCUTTING

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THE MODERATES. THE PLO MUST DIVEST ITSELF OF ITS EXTREMISTS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF NEGOTIATING A SETTLEMENT THAT HAS A CHANCE OF BEING ACCEPTED BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT. THIS MEANS THAT MODERATE PALESTINIANS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES MUST BE SUPPORTED AND AN INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP THERE ALLOWED TO GROW AND NURTURE IN ORDER TO OFFSET THE FORCES OF PALESTINIAN RADICALISM. THE PLO IS MORE AND MORE READY TO MAKE A STATEMENT AIMED AT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, THE U.S.G. WILL HAVE TO PLAY A CRITICAL ROLE TO MOVE THIS PROCESS ALONG. THE NEXTTHREEMONTHS ARE CRUCIAL AND THE CROWN PRINCE HOPED THAT DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE U.S.G. AS TO WHAT APPROACH THE U.S.G. SHOULD TAKE TOWARD THE PALESTINIANS AND THE PLO COULD BE RESOLVED SOON. IN THE JORDANIAN VIEW, IF THE U.S.G. DOES NOT START TALKING TO THE MODERATES IN THE PLO, THERE WILL BE SOON NO ONE TO TALK TO AND THE QUESTION IS, CAN THE U.S. REALLY WAIT?

-- MRS. SHARAF INDICATED THAT ONE OF THE INHIBITING FACTORS ON THE PALESTINIAN SIDE IS THAT NEGOTIATION APPROACHES WITH THE ISRAELIS LEAVE THE ARABS WITH THE PERCEPTION THAT ANY CONCESSION OFFERED IS SIMPLY POCKETED BY THE ISRAELIS WITH NO REAL FORWARD MOVEMENT. THIS EXPLAINS A GREAT DEAL THE RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF THE PALESTINIANS TO PLAY THEIR CARD OF RECOGNITION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. IF A MOVE IS MADE, THERE MUST BE SOME GUARANTEES FOR THE PALESTINIANS AND THE ARABS THAT IT WILL BE ACCEPTED BY THE ISRAELI SIDE.

-- IN SO FAR AS THE JORDANIAN POSITION IS CONCERNED, THE CROWN PRINCE REFERRED TO HIS BOOK "PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION" AND QUOTED A CHAPTER IN THE FORWARD:

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- "IT IS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION THAT ISRAEL'S RIGHTS IN COMMON WITH ARAB STATES INCLUDE: 1) THE RIGHT TO HAVE ITS STATEHOOD RESPECTED, 2) TO BE FREE OF ARMED THREATS, AND 3) TO EXIST IN PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. BUT SUCH RIGHTS CONFER NO VALID CLAIM TO OCCUPY AND CHANGE THE CHARACTER OF THE TERRITORY, OSTENSIBLY TAKEN AS A MEASURE OF SELF-DEFENSE IN A WAR FOURTEEN YEARS AGO."

-- IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR PELL'S INQUIRY AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THE CROWN PRINCE SAW THE EMERGENCE OF A CHARISMATIC LEADER IN ISRAEL ESPECIALLY WHO COULD LEAD THE WAY FORWARD TO MORE DYNAMIC APPROACH TOWARD PEACE, HASSAN REPLIED THAT UNFORTUNATELY HE SAW NO SUCH FIGURE ON THE ISRAELI POLITICAL SCENE. HOWEVER, HE INDICATED THAT PERHAPS THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE SOME INTERNAL POLITICAL CHANGES IN ISRAEL BEFORE A MORE DYNAMIC APPROACH TOWARDS PEACE COULD BE SERIOUSLY PURSUED.

#### U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO JORDAN

18. IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR PELL'S COMMENT THAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN THE SCOPE AND CONTENT OF THE U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO JORDAN AND HIS REQUEST FOR THE CROWN PRINCE'S VIEWS ON THE U.S AID PROGRAM TO JORDAN, HASSAN MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- FIRST, IT HAS TO BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR TO OUR AMERICAN FRIENDS THAT JORDAN IS NOT WILLING TO SELL OUT BASIC PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING A JUST, PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT IN RETURN FOR MASSIVE AID FROM WHATEVER SOURCES.

-- THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS JORDAN FACES ARE SERIOUS AND WILL CONTINUE TO BECOME MORE SERIOUS AS WE FACE A RAPID DEMOGRAPHIC RATE OF GROWTH EXACERBATED BY THE STEADY, DE FACTO FORCED IMMIGRATION OF PALESTINIANS FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. JORDAN HAS SHOWN IN THE PAST THAT IT HAS ASSIMILATED THESE PEOPLE ON A NON-DISCRIMINATORY

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BASIS IN ITS SOCIETY. THE PROBLEM IS A VERY REAL ONE AND WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO HANDLE IN THE FUTURE.

-- JORDAN HAS BEEN DISAPPOINTED BY THE ATTITUDE OF U.S. OFFICIALS IN THE PAST AND ESPECIALLY BY U.S. SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN WHO HAVE PLACED A RIDER ON DEVELOPMENTAL AID TO JORDAN. THAT RIDER BEING THE NECESSITY OF OBTAINING ISRAEL'S TACIT APPROVAL FOR ANY IMPORTANT AID LEVELS OF JORDAN. THIS IS HUMILIATING AND JORDAN SIMPLY CANNOT ACCEPT IT. CROWN PRINCE HASSAN SAID HE WAS SHOCKED IN 1975 IN A DISCUSSION WITH SENATOR JAVITS WHEN HE ASKED THE SENATOR ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL READINESS TO SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JORDAN VALLEY. JAVITS HEDGED IN HIS RESPONSE THAT FIRST HE WOULD HAVE TO ASK THE ISRAELIS ABOUT IT. CROWN PRINCE HASSAN TOLD JAVITS VERY DIRECTLY THAT HE WAS CONFUSED BECAUSE "HE THOUGHT HE WAS SPEAKING TO AN AMERICAN LEGISLATOR AND NOT AN ISRAELI LEGISLATOR." WHAT IS EVEN MORE AGGRAVATING IS THAT ISRAELI PROPAGANDA STATES THAT NO ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ARAB COUNTRIES WHICH ARE NOT WILLING TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL WHEN INDEED IT IS ISRAEL WHICH IS PRE-

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VENTING THE ARAB MODERATES FROM ENTERING THE PROCESS BY ITS OCCUPATION POLICIES AND ANNEXATION POLICIES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. TO SAY NOTHING OF ITS MILITARY RETALIATION POLICY AGAINST LEBANON AND IRAQI TARGETS.

-- WHAT PEOPLE FORGET IS JORDAN'S CONSISTENT HISTORICAL RECORD WHICH PROVES ITS SERIOUS QUEST FOR PEACE. IN 1958, THE HASHEMITE FAMILY WAS MASSACRED IN BAGHDAD FOR AFFILIATING WITH THE BAGHDAD PACT MEMORIES ARE SHORT. THE PRESENT ISRAELI THESIS IS THAT IF JORDAN JOINS THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS AND ENTERS INTO SOME SORT OF SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL AND EGYPT WITHIN THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK THAT JORDAN'S SECURITY PROBLEMS CAN BE FORGOTTEN. THIS IS A VERY DANGEROUS AND INCORRECT ASSESSMENT OF JORDAN'S POSSIBILITIES AND ROLE IN THE ARAB WORLD.

-- IN ANY CASE, U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO JORDAN PLAYS A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN JORDAN'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND IT HAS BEEN WELCOMED BY THE JORDANIANS. JORDAN WOULD LIKE TO SEE THIS ROLE CONTINUE AND GROW.

-- HOWEVER, THE CROWN PRINCE READ TO SENATOR PELL PART OF A STUDY ON U.S. ASSISTANCE TO JORDAN AND QUOTED THE FOLLOWING TWO PARAGRAPHS.

"A COMPARISON OF THE SHARES OF JORDAN AND ISRAEL IN U.S. AID IS STRIKING. THE SHARE OF JORDAN IN THE ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND AID TO THE NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIAN REGION CAN BE SEEN TO BE LESS THAN 4 PERCENT, WHEREAS ISRAEL'S SHARE HAS EXCEEDED 45 PERCENT. SIMILARLY, JORDAN'S SHARE IN THE FOREIGN MILITARY SALES FOR THE REGION WAS 2-4 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL, COMPARED TO 55-88 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL FOR ISRAEL.

"IT IS ALSO INTERESTING TO COMPARE U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINIAN REFUGEES IN THE NEAR EAST (UNRWA) WITH U.S. AID TO ISRAEL, PARTICULARLY U.S. FOREIGN MILITARY SALES. IN THE YEARS 1980, 1981 AND 1982, U.S. FOREIGN MILITARY SALES TO ISRAEL WERE USD 1000 MILLION, USD 1400 MILLION AND 1400 MILLION, RESPECTIVELY. THE CORRESPONDING FIGURES FOR U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNRWA WERE USD 55 MILLION, USD 62 MILLION AND USD 31 MILLION, RESPECTIVELY. AS SHOWN IN ANNEX 3, TOTAL U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNRWA DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1950 TO 1982 WERE USD 889 MILLION, WHICH IS LESS THAN THE U.S. FOREIGN MILITARY SALES TO ISRAEL OF USD 1000 MILLION IN ONE YEAR, 1980."

-- IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, THE CROWN PRINCE CONCLUDED, JORDAN SEEKS TO INCREASE ITS ECONOMIC AND MILITARY STRENGTH IN ORDER TO PROMOTE ITS OWN STABILITY AS A MODERATE STATE IN THE AREA AND AID OTHER ARAB MODERATE STATES IN THEIR OWN DEFENSE AND TO BOLSTER

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THEIR POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE FACE OF MULTIPLE EXTERNAL THREATS.

U.S.-JORDANIAN EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES AND THE GROWING

SOVIET ROLE

19. SENATOR PELL REFERRED TO HIS PREVIOUS CONVERSATION WITH CHARGE DJEREJIAN ON THE STATUS OF EDUCATIONAL

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EXCHANGE PROGRAMS WITH JORDAN AND THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS INVOLVED IN STUDYING IN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. THE SENATOR SAID HE WAS DISMAYED THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT ABLE TO PROVIDE ANY GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS TO ENCOURAGE AN EVEN LARGER NUMBER OF JORDANIAN STUDENTS TO STUDY IN THE UNITED STATES. HE WAS ALSO DISMAYED TO LEARN OF THE RAPIDLY INCREASING NUMBER OF SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS FOR JORDANIAN STUDENTS AND THE CONCOMITANT GROWING NUMBER OF JORDANIAN STUDENTS WHO STUDIED IN THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. THERE WAS A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THIS PROBLEM WITH THE JORDANIANS MAKING THE MAIN POINT THAT THEY WOULD WELCOME ANY ADDITIONAL PROSPECTS FOR SENDING THEIR UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE STUDENTS TO THE UNITED STATES. THEY ALSO EXPRESSED THEIR GROWING CONCERN OVER THE IMPLICATIONS, ESPECIALLY POLITICAL, OF THE GROWING NUMBER OF JORDANIAN STUDENTS WHO STUDY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. ONE PROBLEM THAT THEY ARE FACED WITH ALREADY IS THE LOW QUALITY OF EDUCATION OF THE STUDENTS WHO STUDY IN THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE USSR. MANY OF THEM HAVE TO BE RETRAINED ON THEIR RETURN TO JORDAN.

20. THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS REPORTING CABLE HAS BEEN CLEARED BY CODEL PELL. DJEREJIAN  
END OF MESSAGE

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